1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

Specialization and Trade

439 Among the more distinctive features of upper Xingú culture are community craft specialization and a widespread system of trade re- [438] lationships. The Trumaí traded among themselves, but the most important exchanges took place on the intertribal level, and it is here that the products of tribal specialization become significant to the economy. [182] At the time of Quain's investigations, the Arawakans maintained a [323] monopoly on pottery, but the once active Trumaí stone axe manufacture had fallen into disuse. In its place, the Trumaí were specializing [317] in the preparation of salt, obtained by burning a species of water-lily and sifting the ashes. The Trumaí depended on the Kamayurá for a highly prized type of bow, as the proper wood was not found in their [411] territory. According to Oberg, this black, rectangular bow was eagerly sought by other tribes, also.[28]

While the Kamayurá monopoly on these bows can be explained by the local availability of the raw materials, craft specialization cannot be looked upon simply as a function of the exclusive possession of certain skills. Other arts diffused rapidly among the tribes, and it is evident that the specialties remained such for non-economic reasons. For example, the three Arawakan tribes, the Mehinaku, Kustenaú and Waurá, all made pottery, but each traded their wares only with certain tribes. The Bacairí obtained their pottery from the Kustenaú, who were, in von den Steinen's time, their neighbors on the Batoví River. On the Kuliseu, the Nahukwa traded for ceramics with the nearby Mehinaku, while the Tupian-speaking tribes and the Trumaí relied on the Waurá. Despite the fact that each Arawakan tribe dealt with its nearest neighbors, the exclusiveness of these relationships is not a physical necessity. [602] The Trumaí could have obtained Mehinaku pottery. They had many [881] kinship ties with the Mehinaku, and even conducted joint puberty rites. The distance between them was not great. Manifestly some standardized channeling of trade relationships existed.

This is further confirmed by the confinement of pottery manufacture to the Arawakans. It is probable that when the various groups first settled in the area, the Arawakans were the only ceramicists. With the development of close intertribal relationships, however, there was every opportunity for the craft to diffuse. It could have been learned by outsiders in trips to Arawakan villages and then practiced at home, as the clay is easily gotten from the river bottoms. Obvious means for its diffusion were marriage or capture of Arawakan women. But the manufacture of pottery was not observed by Quain in any non-Arawakan village of the area, despite the fact that Arawakan women were living [303] in many such communities. In the Trumaí village no pottery was made,

[28] Oberg 1953, p. 20.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

The usual procedure was for each man to clear a garden plot adjacent to the others; in this way the two large clearings of Nariatan and Waniwanitan were created. The three isolated small clearings might have been nuclei for future large clearings.

All the trees in the plot to be cleared were felled, and the underbrush was slashed away. This has been done with steel axes since the upper Xingú Indians came in contact with the outside world. Quain noted that much more work must have been involved in clearing the forest when stone axes were used. Even with improved implements, clearing land was the most arduous work done by the Trumaí. Stumps were not uprooted, nor were the fallen trees and shrubs removed. The dead vegetation was allowed to dry, and the plot was burned over just before planting in September. When planting, the Trumaí followed the simple expedient of avoiding burned tree trunks and stumps. One year old garden plots were made ready for replanting simply by pulling out or chopping down weeds.

The heavy work of clearing the land fell to the men. In one case reported by Quain, two men from the same household cleared a plot jointly, but in all other instances each garden was cleared by one man.

Permanent rights to land resided in the community as a whole, but gardens were spoken of as belonging to the man who had cleared the land. He also had proprietary rights over the crops, even when he had not planted them himself. Generally, however, such fine points of property were not an issue, as the man who cleared the land usually planted it. Land tenure was a function of use only.

Absolute, permanent ownership of property in land would have had no purpose, as the gardens were temporary and were abandoned when the soil was exhausted after two consecutive plantings.

The planting season began after the first light rains and lasted from about the middle of September to about the second week in October. The first heavy daytime rains arrive at the beginning of October and become more frequent throughout the month. Thus the sowing was done after the earth was moistened, but before the rains arrived in full force.

Quain made note of a variety of food plants growing in the Trumaí gardens. These included bitter manioc (*olé*), corn (*xotet*), squash, large beans (*kumana*), small beans (*kumana'i*), sweet potatoes (*mani*), sugar cane (*kmeniye*), a species of pineapple (*tousus ruyus*), and banana trees (*tsi tlatlat*). Among the domesticated non-food plants were tobacco, cotton (*amandya*), the castor bean (*putasy*), and *urucú* (*matdot*). Quain believed that the castor bean was used for the round hollow point of the whistling arrow, but Oberg says that the Kamayurá make theirs with hollow nuts of the tucúm palm.[1] *Urucú* is a plant bearing a pod, the

[1] Oberg 1962, p. 31.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

The woof was made of cotton threads. The men's hammocks were usually woven, while those made by the women for themselves were generally an inferior twined product. Other manufactures of cotton were arm and leg bands.

Ceramics

The knowledge of ceramic manufacture cannot be properly considered a part of Trumaí culture, despite their daily use of pottery in cooking, manioc processing, eating and storage. All pottery utensils were obtained in trade with the Arawakan Waurá, usually in return for salt. The only clay article of Trumaí manufacture was the *ja'meo*, a crude clay griddle on which the *beijú* was baked. The Trumaí did not rely completely on pottery for watertight containers, as gourds, grown in their own gardens, were extensively used.

Wood Manufactures

All woodwork was done by the men with, at the time of Quain's visit, steel tools. The most distinctive article was the zoomorphically carved wooden stool, found among all upper Xingú peoples. Quain's notes contain a sketch of one such stool which is very similar to the one depicted by von den Steinen.[6] Other wood products were canoe paddles, *beijú* paddles, manioc graters, and mortars and pestles, used by the women to pulverize the hard, dry balls of manioc flour.

Weapons

Bows and arrows were used almost to the exclusion of other weapons. The Trumaí got their bows in trade from the Kamayurá, but made the bowstrings themselves from the fiber of a tree known to them as the *patacy*. They made their own feathered arrows out of cane, at the end of which was inserted a thin wooden shaft. The points were fixed to the shaft with a tree resin (*awalitsu*) and were wrapped at the juncture with cotton thread. Monkey bone points were used for shooting fish and birds. One man who was making a bamboo point told Quain that it was used for hunting and warfare. Another was seen hammering an arrow point out of a piece of metal.

Spears were not used often, although the Trumaí made them. Quain saw a spear point being made of the shin bone of a tapir. The spear-thrower (*xopep*) was used only in the annual spear-throwing contest. It was made from the wood of a palm. Quain sketched one that had a flat handle with a finger hole and a shaft with a hook on the end, and another that lacked the hook, but had a thong on the end.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

The Trumaí made no war clubs at the time of Quain's investigation, although von den Steinen stated that the Trumaí and the Suyá were the only groups of the region to have clubs.[8] The only war club in the village was a long, fluted one of wood that the Waurá had captured from the Suyá and had subsequently given to one of the Trumaí men. It was only used ceremonially.

Firemaking

Fires were kindled by use of a simple, hand-twirled fire drill. Generation of a new fire was not often necessary as there was almost always an active fire in the village from which a flame could be taken. Gathering firewood was woman's work.

Ornaments and Body Decoration

Except for ornaments, men and women were completely nude. The women wore a cord belt that passed around the body just above the buttocks. Some of the women still had what Quain called a "fig leaf," probably a piece of leaf or bark, strung on a cord passing between the buttocks. It was known as the *tdesnit*, the Trumaí term for the *uluri*, the common upper Xingú version of which they did not use.

Except for occasional body painting, the women indulged in little ornamentation. They were plucked of all body hair, but in contrast to the shorter tonsure of the males, they let their hair grow over their shoulders.

The men wore belts of cotton thread or bark fiber, but did not tie their penes. Occasionally flat shell beads were strung around the waist, but more often they were used in necklaces. Necklaces, which were worn in ceremonies, were made by stringing flat rectangular shells on cotton thread. The shells were strung only on the front half of the necklace. Quain noted one type that had two black panels on each end of the necklace. Shell necklaces were an important commodity in intertribal trade, as has already been indicated. Cotton or bark fiber bands were tied around the ankles, just below the knees, and around the biceps.

Featherwork ornaments were worn ceremonially and included headdresses, ear pendants, and feather necklaces. Quain noted one pendant made from the whole breast of a bird. The breast had four colored bands: black, yellow, red, and again yellow, from top to bottom. Another feather pendant consisted of black, red, and yellow feathers arranged in bands and attached to a short piece of wood. A black tree resin held the feathers firmly in place. The feathers were obtained from the tips of parrot wings.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 222.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

Jakwanari then presented to the dancers as payment. In another part of the ceremony, a gourd of the *piquí* fruit drink was poured on Jakwanari in the same manner that the manioc gruel was poured on Matiwana during the *ole* festival.

The Spear-Throwing Contest

The spear-throwing contest involved intertribal participation and was completely secular. The core of the celebration, which took place at the end of the rainy season, was a duel between rival teams representing the tribes of the area. The purpose of the duel was for a member of the team on the offensive to strike a member of the defending team with a blunt-ended spear propelled by an *atlatl*, or spear-thrower. The defendant held a few sticks vertically, one end resting on the ground, and tried to deflect the oncoming spear with them. The distance between the two was about twenty paces and hits were frequently scored. After each turn, the defender went on the offensive. The games were conducted in a spirit of friendship and festivity. Bruises, some of which must have been severe, were compensated for by gift exchanges.

The participants painted their bodies elaborately for the combat. One informant erroneously stated that the masks for which the area is famous (but which were no longer made by the Trumaí) were worn during one part of the festival.[1] Intertribal wrestling matches were also held at this gathering.

The Bull Roarer

Information on the defunct bull roarer rites, as for other ceremonies, is extremely meagre. As the Trumaí express it, they have "buried the *kulà*" (bull roarer), but most of the adult men knew the ritual connected with it and remembered when it was still in use. The Trumaí formerly went to the Kamayurá village and took part in the ceremony there. One man told Quain that dancing in the Trumaí village preceded the ritual, whereupon they all went to the Kamayurá village and "did things that the women cannot see." Then, he said, there was a great deal of wrestling and copulation. Yati, Maibu, and Tun played a ceremonial role known only to them, while Yati, Oirupa, and Nitvary sang certain songs at night when everyone was asleep. The ceremonial flutes found throughout the upper Xingú are not mentioned in Quain's notes. Apparently, they were no longer used by the Trumaí.

[1] These masks are worn during a ceremony called the *jakui* by the Kamayurá, which, according to Galvão (1950, p. 355.) takes place in the same season, thus explaining the confusion.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

All other play was more spontaneous and uncoordinated. Amusement and education were derived from using small bows and arrows which all boys possessed and the older ones knew how to make. Much of their time was spent shooting at insects and other targets in the village, but three or four children might occasionally go together to the lagoon and shoot fish from the banks. Sometimes they would wander off to the clearings when planting was in progress, or travel through the woods to gather guava. Few restraints were placed on their movements.

Nor was the sex play of children greatly inhibited by their elders. Actually there was no heterosexual activity between children, for there were no girls of appropriate age in the village. Thus, pre-pubescent sexual relations occurred between boys or between boys and men, and almost always it was the boys who were the instigators. Quain felt certain that Tay was the only member of the village who might be considered a homosexual. He was an orphan, and although he was fed and housed, he was identified with no family, and no one took any special interest in him. Tay, more than any boy, remained aloof from other children. His sexual advances were directed to a large extent toward the older males, who often cooperated with him. For example, he often wrapped his legs around Jakuma's hips, going through sexual motions. The older man would giggle when he did this and show signs of being mildly stimulated. Mayuva, among others, was less receptive, but his only mode of resistance was to arch his body away from the boy.

The sexual play of a young child might even include his father. Quain observed little Tsirikoan tugging at his father's penis. The father showed some annoyance, but only because he did not want to be bothered. Although children were rarely manipulated in this way by the men, Quain saw Yanahi, a young married man, amusing himself and some boys by pulling Tsirikoan's penis until the child had an erection. The boys whispered to Yanahi that Quain was watching, but this apparently made no difference to him, for he continued his activity.

The minor homosexual engagements that took place between the boys themselves were likewise in the nature of play. Quain saw no homosexuality between adults, and, contrary to Levi-Strauss' inference from Quain's notes, there was no kinship tie that implied permissible homosexual relations.[1]

The facts of sex were certainly no secret to the children. Living in undivided houses and sleeping with or adjacent to their parents, they were aware at an early age of the sexual activities of their elders. No effort was made to keep sexual knowledge from them, and they derived considerable amusement from the sexual affairs of the adults. Tsirikoan and some other boys raised a great hue and cry when they happened

[1] Levi-Strauss 1948, p. 337.

/191 cont./

484 In perfect order, as though this were a carefully rehearsed theatri-
501 cal performance /192/ supported by very successful scenery, the
609 long, narrow craft glided silently along, a considerable distance from our praia /sandy shore; see the glossary, p. 172 /, closer to
[291] the opposite wooded shore; no command sounded. Almost all
[302] the naked occupants were painted black and bright red on faces
[287] and bodies, many simply blackened all over with soot; on their heads they wore white feather caps, the hair was cut short all
[141] around, as among the Bakaïrí; the standing ones were overtopped by the bows, almost two and a half meters long, and in the left hand held a thick bundle of colorfully feathered arrows.

609 Gradually they came to a stop and the stillness was followed
576 by a dreadful noise, a fanatical howling and bellowing. There
[101] could be no doubt but that they were Trumaí, for they shouted this word incessantly as though their lives depended on it, beat their fists against their chests, and at the same time made bows with their upper bodies all the more violently since their legs had little room for lively gesticulation. Nevertheless, if any of us had behaved half as excitedly in the canoe, we would surely have fallen hopelessly into the water at the very beginning of the imitation. But we were on firm ground, and the example is contagious. We, too, howled; we, too, bellowed; we, too, beat our chests. Everybody shouted whatever he happened to remember of an Indian language: "Katú, hekatú Trumaí, Bakaïrí, Kustenaú," interspersed with an occasional lusty "diavo," heiliges Donnerwetter /hang it all/ in German, "don't these fellows have any sense?"

[123] But far from it! No matter how invitingly we waved to them, how affably we clapped our hands, how graciously we pointed to our campsite, as though we were speaking to the Spaniard, "Sir, this house is your house," it did not help in the least. It was clear that this performance is official on the Schingú; we should be committing a breach of etiquette were we to speak of other things before we had thoroughly introduced ourselves to each other for half an hour.

/194 cont./

609 123 [437] [262] It was only then that we recovered our senses and were able to understand the reason for the incident. Apparently the Trumaí had been animated by the urgent desire to barter as soon as possible and with as little ceremony as possible for some of our treasures in exchange for their miserable beijûs, which looked gray as though made with buckwheat flour, were coarse-grained, and tasted slightly sour. With this in mind they had been active everywhere. Of Wilhelm's companions, one had been busy with the hunting knife and the other with the gun at the same time, and the latter, while my cousin was trying in the friendliest way to keep them off, had unfortunately pressed the cock. In any case the culprit was the most surprised by the effect; otherwise he would not have been kicking so frightenedly on the ground.

In spite of the miraculous speed with which they dashed to the boats, however, the Trumaí had not lost all presence of mind. The two who had just been trying on Castro's and Antonio's hats did not forget in their hasty running to put them on well down over their heads. Another old hand had still found time on his flight to snatch up quickly one of the large fish lying on the beach.

Antonio's behavior when he was so unexpectedly deprived of his precious hat was characteristic. Without further ado he shot his pistol at the thief, but in his rage fortunately missed. And when we /Illustration appears here/ /195/ asked him whether he really wanted to kill the man, he nodded with the greatest composure, "Yes, he had my hat."

126 ●411 The returning men brought back a rich ethnological collection, at least in terms of the number of objects. The bows were very fine and strong; one was shot to pieces, proof that the shots had not been fired entirely happazardly. The arrows provided with pointed pieces of bamboo were plentiful; these bamboo blades, which, as could be easily seen, had been freshly sharpened, are only loosely inserted in the shaft with a little resin; after the arrow has reached its mark, they break off and remain embedded in the body. There was a single club, crudely worked, flat, 86 301 centimeters long. One feather ornament was particularly pretty; 237 the green, orange-colored, and white feathers were mounted on

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 79]

1: Steinen--78), E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi
Trumai SP23

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Trumaí

1: Steinen--165 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23
Suya SP21
Yuruna SQ26

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Y
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B
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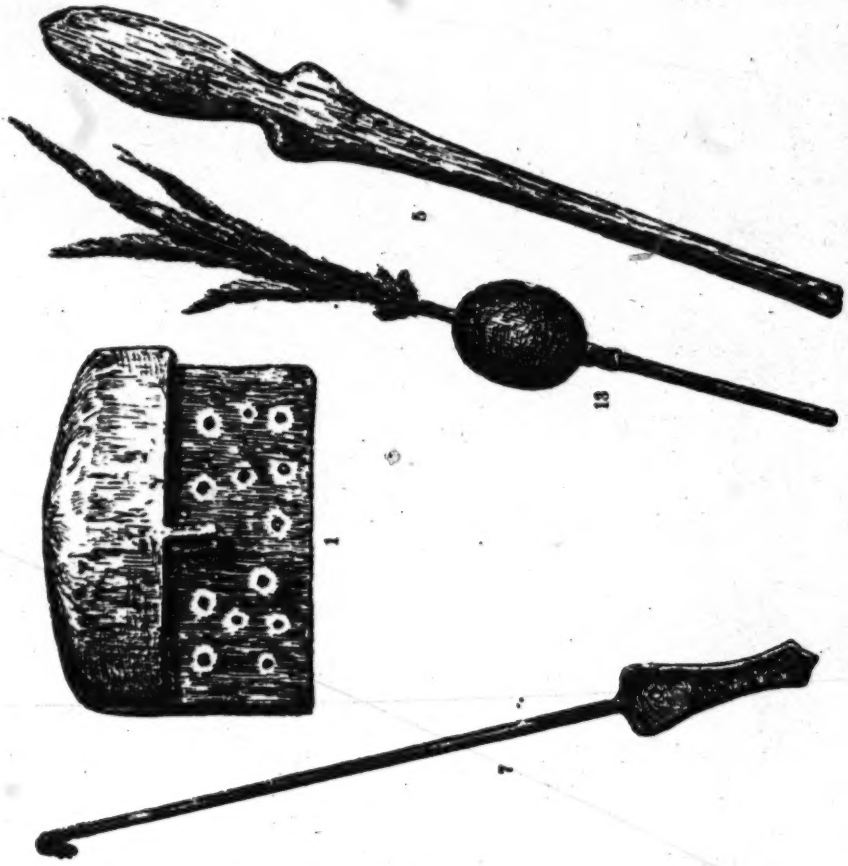

Ethnological Plate II

/reproduced on pp. 165-169/. Bakaïrí: 1. Dove mask for a dance. 2. Flute (meni). 3. Stone ax. 4. Oar. Trumaí: 5. Club. Suyá: 6. Club. 7. Arrow thrower (throwing board). 8. Stone ax. 9. Bone knife. 10. Beijú turner. Yuruna: 11. Oar. 12. Flute. 13. Gourd rattle. Karajá: 14. Club.

/122 cont./

All

123 192 doubts vanished at the end of the trail. Two women there were crossing the path, let out a dreadful scream, and disappeared with lightning speed into the bushes. A chorus of confused, shrill cries and suddenly between the trees figures running excitedly hither and thither everywhere. We were in the midst of the Trumaí!

An unpleasant situation. To go back was, of course, impossible. Therefore, straight ahead. I have never heard more insane noise. In the background women and children dashed away with ear-splitting howls; the men gathered up their [411] weapons here and there and, swinging bows, arrows, darts, they drew together into a screaming, dancing, raging knot, toward which we resolutely strode, one behind the other. I fixed my eye on a short gentleman who seemed to be the chief, stepped straight up to him, placed my hand on his shoulder, and did what is always best on such occasions, I laughed. Nor did I omit a forcefully expressed "katú katú karáiba, kúra kúra karáiba." In fact, I addressed several short sentences to him in a language which he had most probably never heard, but the sounds of which readily spring to my lips at critical moments and then always help to triumph over the gravity of the situation; it is my beloved Düsseldorf dialect, reinforced with a few carnivalistic catchwords that are appropriate for any situation. They had their effect on the Trumaí as well; the little old chief was, to be sure, too horrified to be able to laugh with me, but he nevertheless greeted me as graciously as he could.

[352 532] Two stools were hastily dragged up and the straw in which they were packed was torn off; they were bird-shaped, and one, which represented a vulture, was distinguished by two necks and heads, like a double eagle. We sat down in the forest camp, and the company, looking quite wild in their terror, surged and pressed all around us among the trees. When I declared with jovial mien that I wanted to sleep among them, twenty hands moved at once clearing away the brush and making room -- more attentive service could not be imagined. After

/123 cont./

437 knives and some sacrifices from our personal belongings, we acquired a small, not unattractive collection. The people had protected from the Suyá and carried along with them the
126 things that were most important for us. There were feather
437 ornaments, necklaces of stone beads, a stone ax, valuable as
[439] an example of local manufacture, for the other Kulisehu tribes obtain their stone axes from the Trumaí, throwing sticks, a club, ten masks, dance clubs, large flutes, and various trifles.
● 411 To our astonishment, we did not see the large arrows with long, pointed pieces of bamboo, which the Trumaí had carried in 1884, a number of which they lost in their flight, and which we noticed had been sharpened for the encounter with us. They had probably been used up in the battle with the Suyá.

126 I spent as much time as possible during the evening writing beside a candle stub, in order to obtain a vocabulary. A
[115] younger chief proved very capable, except that in his enthusiasm he shouted with a loud voice, as though I were stone deaf.
123 Inquisitively the men squatted nearby, the witches were /124/
[601] busy at the fires, the children cried atsíu for mother and papá for father, through the branches magic moonlight poured over the strange camp scene, and soon the peace of night embraced the sleeping and the awake. We could sleep undisturbed, but were well aware that a few men remained sitting beside the fire.

The next morning, 26 October, there was great confusion. A large glass of arsenic pills had been stolen from me. Under the peculiar circumstances I would gladly have overlooked any kind of theft, but I could neither be without this arsenic for my part, nor let the Indians poison themselves with it. I was forced to suspect the Yaulapiti who had accompanied us, after our experiences in their village, and demanded that they give it back. They, of course, professed their innocence, the Trumaí became terribly afraid, the women, children, and part of the men escaped into the bushes and did not return even when one of the Yaulapiti actually brought the glass with the arsenic pills. According to his humble opinion, it had dropped out of my

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[317]

/204 cont./
embedded individual crystals of olivine and quite a number of quartz granules. The blades, 11-21 centimeters long, are usually evenly cylindrical, but some are round in the center like a roller, taper toward the rear, and have a broad front end with a bow-shaped cutting edge. Without any lashing, they fit into a wooden handle 0.5 meters long on the average, which consists of a cylindrical upper piece bored crosswise and a thinner handle set off from this like a reed stalk from its spike. The stone points inserted in the darts and the ornamental stones of the neck chains are made of the same diabase. The Trumaí ground the blades to a point on their stones and bored the ornamental stones; besides them, only the neighboring Yaulapiti did this. The other tribes simply sharpened on the river sandstone the axes that became dull. Shells and stones were bored with a twirl-borer. A triangular, hard splinter of stone was clamped to a small staff, and, to be sure, at both ends so that one could alternate them, and was secured by cord lashing. The little staff was almost half a meter long and was twirled between the hands. If stone was to be bored, sand was added. This is all the Indians achieved in the working of stone; they had

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*171
412

Fig. 21.
Twirl-borer.*
(1/2 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

*The twirl-staff is represented discontinuously.

B /229 cont./
*191 laterally hollowed end of the wooden support, lashing it, and
411 covering it with resin.
[239]

Sometimes a pierced, hollow tucum nut is shoved up on the arrow shaft to slightly above the middle; one or two holes are cut into the nut on the side. In flight a high-pitched whirring or whistling is heard. /230/ While the noise-making arrows are used only for bird hunting, the others are intended for all hunting and the shooting of fish; those with barbs are exclusively
B fish arrows. Arrows with sawlike notched wooden points do not
[101] occur on the Schingú except among the Yarumá, whom we regard as a southern group of the Mundurukú /Mundurucu/ of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/.

T The Suyá and Trumaí had arrows with long pointed bamboo
171 knives for war and for hunting jaguar. Spindle-shaped bamboo
● 411 splinters up to 35 centimeters long and up to 36 millimeters wide,
[824] knife-sharp on the edges, are mounted on the wooden stick driven deep into the reed shaft; the wooden stick is embedded in a groove
T cut below along the inner surface of the splinter. And, to be
[284] sure, the pointed spindle is only loosely fastened with a little resin and thread; when shot it remains in the body that was hit, while the shaft with the wooden stick flies off behind it.

B The most remarkable thing about the arrow is the feathering
*171 at the lower end. Two feathers, more correctly two halves of
411 feathers, for the feather is split at the shaft, are carefully fastened
239 in a spiral twist which goes around one-fourth of the circumfer-
ence; each flag stands with the plane of its upper part perpendicu-
B lar on that of its lower part, so that the flying arrow spirals
[284] through the air. The feathers are set in a row of small holes, which are made with an agutí tooth and enlarged with a pointed buriti splinter, and, one may say, are sewed onto the arrow; the cotton thread is wound around the ends and is itself protected by
B being wound with waimbé bark (Philodendron). Usually the
[825] feathers come from gallinaceous birds, jakú (Penelope) and mutung (Crax), from the falcon, and from the blue arara. Where the hand grasps the arrow shaft there is a wrapping of waimbé. At the bottom a notch is cut in parallel to the upper part of the feathers.

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411 /231 cont./ Indians practice on the village plaza and, as a target, plant a shaft which bears at the top a cylindrical or conical piece of cork wood.

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411 The throwing board, in our case, where there is no "board" often called a throwing stick,* is now a rare weapon which was

* For our case the best expression would be "arrow thrower." "Throwing stick" too easily gives rise to confusion with sticks that are thrown.

found among only the two Tupí tribes, the Kamayurá /Camayura/ and Auetö, and among the Trumaí. It was the greatest ethnological surprise of our journey. Ehrenreich then also came across it among the Karayá on the Araguay. Replaced by the bow, it has remained in active use only among the wood-poor Eskimo. The North American Indians, as far as is known, were not familiar with it; among the ancient Mexicans and among the Maya, as well as among the inhabitants of Colombia, it appears in limited use, though a wider distribution in early times may be inferred; it is regarded as the weapon of the Inca warriors; and finally we see individual examples of it among South American primitive peoples, especially Tupís, on the high Amazon as well as in eastern Brazil. Among our tribes, too, the throwing stick had lost its real importance, or at least was on the point of losing it. Nevertheless, in every house there were more throwing boards than bows; the Indians said that they never used the weapon any more for hunting, to be sure, but certainly in war. In 1884, when the Trumaí appeared before our camp, they had no throwing boards with them; the stone balls with which the darts are equipped for serious use were not present in any number among the Auetö and Kamayurá; they, too, had to get them from the Trumaí, and thus, for the Tupí tribes at any rate, if only because of their geographical location, the days of the throwing board are numbered. As a

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535 sporting weapon, however, it still enjoys great esteem and assiduous use; in connection with the dance, I shall also have to mention the throwing-board dance, which portrays being wounded in battle.

/231 cont./

in battle. The purpose of the throwing board is /232/ to throw a stone-weighted arrow, or, if one wishes, a more graceful spear, with great force. The type present on the Schingú is a thin, smooth stick of hard palm wood about 70 centimeters long, which widens at the front end into a holding plate provided with a hole and bears a small hook at the other, rear end. In other words, no board and no sign of a groove. Cf. Figures 28 /see p. 241/ and 6, p. 91.

The arrow is set in on the barb at the back, the index finger is stuck through the hole of the holding plate, while the other fingers grasp the plate and the arrow; thus, the rear part of the arrow lies securely against the throwing board, is lifted with a powerful swing, the throwing stick describes an arc forward and upward and with this lever motion sends out the arrow so "that it positively whizzes." The throwing boards are made of light or dark palm wood, /Fig. 28 appears here/ they are nicely smoothed, and some of them give an impression of elegance, especially if a small bunch of colored feathers hangs down from the barb cord. The plate has a width of about five centimeters in front, six centimeters in the rear, and a length of 15 centimeters; it is cut biconcave, so that the hand grasps it securely. The shaft is about four times as long. The barb on which the dart is set, a bone among the Karayá, is here a little stick, two and a half centimeters long, lashed on diagonally with cotton thread. There were throwing boards in small sizes for children.

The reed thrown by our Indians is not a spear, but a real ubá arrow and is also called an arrow by them /in this work it is called arrow (Pfeil) or dart (Wurfpfeil). Only the feathering is usually more carelessly worked and not arranged spirally. Bone points and sharp wooden points do not occur. The characteristic thing about the dart is the opposite -- a possibility not provided for in the German language, it seems -- a "blunt point." /233/ In this respect, too, the characteristic of the "spear" is lacking. The dart does not spear and stab, but shatters with a heavy blow. Inserted into the shaft, lashed with string, and smeared with wax were heavy stone or wood points. The stones either conical, like

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[191] No. 2 in the accompanying figure or pear-shaped, like No. 3. Only a
[411] small part of the stone peeked out of the wax covering; cf. No. 9. The wooden points had different forms, spherical or, corresponding to the stone pear, with a long stem to be shoved into the shaft: No. 1, or (the common form) Nos. 4 and 10, a cylindrical piece that tapered at the bottom for insertion -- in No. 11 also one with a pointed projection, furthermore a knob, No. 12, and a fork, No. 8. In Figure 6 on
[531] page 91, the center arrow bears a long, narrow wooden cone which is decorated with a long black linear or dot design on a white background.

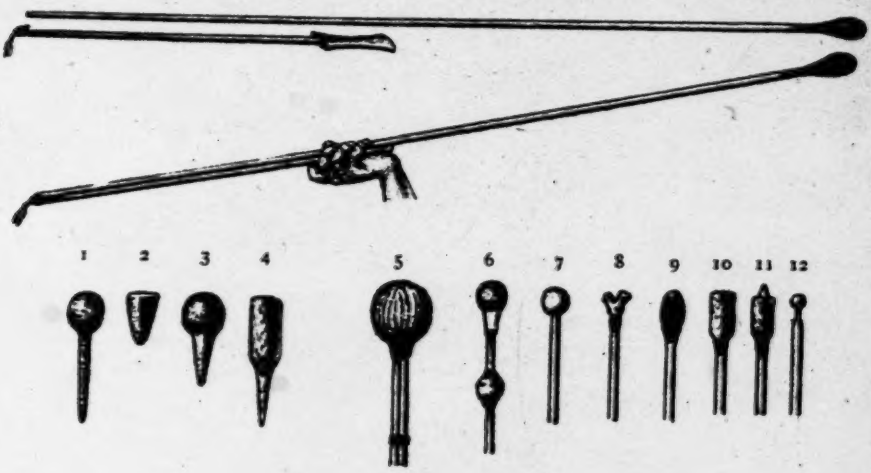

Fig. 28. Throwing board (1/13 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/) and the tips of the darts.

already the purely decorative weapon for the dance. Many darts bore
[824] only wax knobs. Finally, we see in Nos. 6 and 7 one or two tucum nuts (Astrocaryum) set on in the manner of the noise-making arrows, and in No. 5 a fist-size tucum nut on two reed shafts lashed together.

[192] The throwing board gets its name from the tucum palm: yauarí. It is not unusual for the plant that furnishes the material to provide the name for the implement as well; the Kamayurá added a more specific identification, yauarí amomoáp, which means (amo, far; mo, causative; ap, to break apart, to wound) "tucum shattering far away." Apollo amomoáp, the one hitting far away. In a legend

/233 cont./

191 which Ehrenreich recorded among the Karayá, there are monkeys
411 who, sitting in a tree, kill people with darts. This agrees to a certain extent with what the Indians told me, the throwing board is good to use in the forest. Thus, in rapid pursuit between the trees, one can ready the throwing board to hurl the stone arrow, but cannot hold the bow, requiring two hands for pulling, ready for shooting and seize one of the brief moments during which the fleeing target loses the cover of trunks and underbrush. The force with which the dart whizzes off and hits is far greater than one expects. The weapon has one tremendous disadvantage compared to the bow, in that it cannot be used upward; one cannot bring down a bird with it from the treetop. Moreover, it distinguishes itself very much to its disfavor by its uselessness for killing fish. In short, it is not a hunting weapon and, even if the darts were provided with points that would penetrate the skin, would be one only to a limited extent for larger animals; it is decidedly a weapon of war and is designated only as such. It had its value, along with the bow, when there was war, suitable stones, and forest. If it is called a preliminary stage of the bow, one should remember that it does not in any way help us to solve the mystery of its origin, for the essential thing about the bow is its resilient force, both that of the wood and that of the bowstring.

/234/ Clubs were used only by the Suyá and the Trumaí. The one of the Suyá, cf. Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, illustration page 326 /see 1:Steinen, this file, p. 166/, was flat, one and a third to almost one and a half meters long, with an oval upper piece that was decorated with shell eyes, an elegant weapon of brownish black seriba palm wood that shone as though polished. The Trumaí club is of similar shape, smaller, clumsier, and not of artistic workmanship. We /Fig. 29 appears here/ also acquired only one of these on the second expedition. On the other hand, the Trumaí, and like the Kamayurá, had no dance clubs, of which I shall speak later. Thus here, too, as in the case of the throwing board, the phenomenon of the old weapon deteriorating into a plaything. Among the Kamayurá we found, besides a Suyá club, one attributed to the Yarumá, which

2: Steinen--243 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23

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corresponded exactly to the Karayá club found among the Yuruna in 1884, a dark brown staff chamfered vertically all around, sharply grooved, lopped off bluntly at top and bottom, with a smooth intermediate piece for the hand. The Yuruna in that case, and the Kamayurá here, had transformed the murder weapon into a peaceful walking stick. One must admit that the defense weapons of the men on the Kulisehu do not point to warlike habits.

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Fig. 29. Bakaïrí oar. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The canoes are commonly made from the bark of the jatobá, as I described it in the case of our vessels. See Plates 10 and 11 /see pages 109 and 121/. A Bakaïrí canoe measured in 1884 had the following measurements: length eight meters, width in the center 64 centimeters on top, 56 centimeters below, depth 24 centimeters, width of stern 63 centimeters, thickness of bark 11 to 21 millimeters. On our second journey we saw longer specimens, and the ark which we acquired among the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ was considerably wider, was, in fact, unique in its corpulence. The Bakaïrí canoes that had to travel in the shallower river-bed strewn with stones were somewhat shallower than those farther downstream. Among the Yaulapiti the rim was turned over slightly.

The oar, somewhat over a meter long, consisted of a slightly hollowed-out blade 60 centimeters long and ten centimeters wide,